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# PEACE NEWS

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## SIR RICHARD ACLAND ON PEACE TRUST PLANS

### We hope to see 2 or 3 by-elections contested

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"THE trustees of the Gravesend Peace Trust hope and intend to sponsor some two or three by-election candidates a year" Sir Richard Acland told a press conference in London last week.

He explained that when he fought Gravesend as an independent candidate opposed to the British manufacture of the H-bomb, more money had been given for that purpose than he was legally entitled to spend. Consequently the Gravesend Peace Trust had been formed and a Trust Deed drawn up, to encourage candidates who, if elected, would seek reconciliation and friendly relations between nations, races, peoples, creeds, ideologies, other than by the method of fighting or domination.

To conform to the conditions of the Trust any candidate, though standing as an independent and defining his own policy, should at least include in his programme the repudiation by Britain of the manufacture of all weapons of mass destruction, the method of war as a major instrument of policy, and should press for significant British leadership in a war on want in the underdeveloped countries.

The trustees of the Trust are Sir Richard Acland, Stuart Morris, Canon Charles Raven and Eric Tucker. They hope that by giving moral sponsorship, in addition to some financial and personal support, they will create that feeling of confidence which will induce further help from outside.

#### NOT A NEW PARTY

It was made clear that the Trust would not necessarily contest every by-election—much would depend on the amount of local support, and the publicity value to be attained. Sir Richard, who had accepted a teaching post, would not himself be standing for Parliament for some years to come.

In addition to a sum of money (£125-£150), the Trust possessed its own film projector; a 16ft x 5ft photographic reproduction showing incidents following the bombing of Hiroshima and a second panel illustrating the work of United Nations agencies in the underdeveloped countries. These could be used to illustrate a lecture or meeting, possibly contrasted under the titles of "The Best and the Worst."

Sir Richard emphasised that the Trust in no way aimed at the creation of a new party. They hoped to sponsor independent candidates, who would be free from party chains and able to witness to the fullness of their belief.

The Secretary, acting on behalf of the trustees, will be Mrs. Helen Bastabel, of 50 George St., Baker St., W.1., which will serve as the address of the Trust.

## IN PARLIAMENT LAST WEEK

### Effects of radiation

#### WHY NO ENQUIRY, asks MP

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

THE gravity of the problem of nuclear radiation, as indicated by the recent declaration by leading world scientists, was stressed by Mr. Arthur Henderson (Lab., Rowley Regis and Tipton) in the House of Commons last week.

Speaking from the Opposition front bench, he laid emphasis on every word as he urged the Government to support the US proposal that the United Nations should assemble and collate world scientific information on the effects of radiation.

In a week of frayed tempers in Parliament, the normally placid Mr. Henderson displayed impatience with replies given to him by Mr. R. H. Turton, joint Foreign Under-Secretary.

Mr. Turton said that the Government welcomed the US initiative, but added that it had not yet been formalised into a proposal before the United Nations, and the Government could not give any definite support to something which had not been formalised.

Speaking of the warning issued by the scientists, he declared: "The Government are well aware of the terrible consequences of nuclear warfare and have, in a series of statements and speeches, made sure that the public of this country understands this. Unfortunately, that has not always been the case behind the Iron Curtain."

"That is extremely unsatisfactory," snapped Mr. Henderson. "Why are the Government not prepared to go as far as the US Government and state that they are in favour of this take that stand?"

Mr. Turton replied that the Government welcomed the initiative and would take her full

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## The legacy of Gandhi

By Dr. HOMER JACK  
PAGE THREE



Vera Brittain brings Laurence Housman greetings from Peace News.

## NINETY CANDLES ON HIS BIRTHDAY CAKE

From Vera Brittain

Vera Brittain travelled to Street, Somerset, on Monday, to be present at Laurence Housman's 90th birthday celebrations in Elmhurst Grammar School.

HALF the population of Street seemed to surround Laurence as he stood beside his cake with its 90 coloured candles, looking hardly older than the Laurence for whom I took the chair in 1936 when the P.E.N. held a dinner to celebrate the West End performance of VICTORIA REGINA. After a pause for a photograph, the period for refreshments ended with the large gathering trooping into the big school hall for the evening's short programme.

A friend of 50 years standing, 84-year-old

Mr. Roger Clarke, of Clarke & Co., the Street manufacturers of exquisite shoes, introduced Laurence to the audience. He spoke of Laurence's work with the Street Players, which he dragged creatively, and often astringently, for 28 years, and recalled their heyday when VIPs from London would telegraph for seats and be informed that all were sold.

Laurence, introducing his own reading, remarked that, unpacifistically, he had always loved a good fight, but among those present that evening, the neighbours whom he had worsted in local arguments were as conspicuous as the rest. He then read one of his IRONICAL TALES, "Blind Knowledge," which related the story of a saint praying for 50 years to know God, who disregarded the humble woman who loved him, and this illustrated the theme that we can only come to the love of God through the love of man. "Without your senses you cannot love; without love you cannot know God."

#### Undauntedly erect

Throughout the speech and reading Laurence stood undauntedly erect, his voice never faltering and his memory unimpaired.

An interesting speech followed from Mr. Kenneth Hudson, the young BBC Talks producer for the West Region. He opened by mentioning that he had recently seen a picture from the early 1920s, which illustrated a play in which Laurence portrayed his own death. The picture had a caption, "Laurence Housman on his deathbed," and showed a recumbent gentleman looking the picture of health, as he still did 30 years on.

Kenneth Hudson recalled that Laurence was born in the year that saw the publication of Alice in Wonderland, "which certainly must have influenced his thinking." The *annus mirabilis* was also the birth-year of W. B. Yeats and Rudyard Kipling. Within the previous two centuries, Mr. Hudson said, there

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## Behind the News

# THE "SUMMIT" TALKS OPEN

THE public speeches made by the heads of the four governments in the opening sessions of the Geneva talks already indicate the vastness of the change that has taken place in comparison with earlier diplomatic contacts, including the exchanges that have occurred at the United Nations Assembly meetings.

There is no longer an attempt by each side to arraign the other.

That there are differences of view to be reconciled or set on one side for the time being has been indicated in each of the speeches but in completely different terms from the indictments and counter-indictments of which we have had to read so many in the past.

We believe that the main explanation of this is the general recognition of the comprehensive character of the destruction that would be brought about by atomic war. Those meeting at Geneva are fully aware of the consequences of warfare today as indicated by Bertrand Russell and the scientists associated with him in his recent statement; and they have reached the same conclusion that these have reached: that war must not be permitted to occur.

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## Labour's new CD policy

### THREE POSSIBILITIES: DIE, DIG, DISPERSE

By Tom Wardle

BERTRAND RUSSELL and his colleagues said a few days ago that if many H-bombs are used there will be "universal death—suddenly only for a minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration."

As far as the Labour Party is concerned, they might just as well have kept their mouths shut. Thirteen non-scientific (as far as is evident) members of a Joint Committee of the Labour Party on Civil Defence have decided that "something can be done." True it is that their odd report is prefaced by an introduction dated March 29 before the new facts about fall-out were widely known—but the pamphlet is released for the Press with a date-line, July 19!

It is plain silly.

#### Pre-Russell

The Committee has had ten meetings it informs us. It has heard experts from the US, Britain and other European countries. It describes in some interesting pre-Russell detail what it assumes the effects of H-bomb war would be in Britain.

And H-bombs are bound to be used if war does occur the say.

What then is to be done?

The Committee finds that there are three courses or possibilities before the British public. They are: 1. Die; 2. Dig; 3. Disperse.

If nothing is done, they say, the first will happen. The second, which means shelters for the population, is only practicable to a limited degree. The third, then—dispersal—is the key to intelligent Civil Defence planning. The Committee offers certain advice on this problem—"we think it would be better—insofar as it is possible—to keep families together... as many people as possible should be taken out of the congested target areas and spread out over the more thinly populated parts of the country."

When? "Immediately war is declared" (shades of old time diplomacy!) "if not before."

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Laurence Housman with Roger Clarke.

## ETHEL MANNIN

writes about the recent Malayan peace offer on page six — see

These "Peace Offensives"



July 22nd 1955

## PEACE NEWS

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The most encouraging thing that can happen is the sudden expression of that still small minority cry, which may find to its relief that perhaps it was the voice of the people all the time.—JAMES CAMERON, NEWS CHRONICLE, JULY 4, 1955.

### HELSINKI

LAST week we commented upon the general conclusion reached by the World Assembly for Peace at Helsinki on the subject of the future of Central Europe. This week we wish to comment upon another matter, which, while it is no of such supreme importance for pacifists is nevertheless a subject upon which they must feel a particular concern: it is the position of those who think like them in those countries that are subjected to single-party government.

Arising from this we propose to take a look at certain essential facts that govern the conduct of a conference such as the Helsinki Assembly as a basis for future discussion as to whether there might be possible terms upon which pacifists as organised groups could co-operate with the World Peace Council in the future.

At one of the Assembly's seven commissions the proposal was made that all governments should be called upon to give legal recognition to those who refuse military service on grounds of conscience. This was not accepted by the commission, which substituted a general statement on freedom of conscience that had no particular bearing on military service and would not therefore prove embarrassing to such governments as are not prepared to admit that there can be conscientious objection to bearing arms.

The fact that the Assembly could not be brought to make such a pronouncement does not mean, of course, that the effort of those who took the trouble to raise the matter was wasted and we should like to express our appreciation of their action.

That there cannot be a pronouncement on a matter of this kind however—so appropriate to the agenda of a peace assembly—raises for consideration the circumstances in which the World Peace Council must confer.

If such a declaration had been made at Helsinki it would have represented a call to a number of governments to change their attitude on this matter: among them Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Poland and Rumania.

Now if we consider what might have been the attitude of the members of the delegations from these different countries on this matter we shall get an indication of the different bases upon which the two types of delegation attending the Assembly must operate.

We do not know what is the attitude of M. Pierre Cot to the question of the legal recognition of conscientious objection to military service. He is a member of the French Parliament, he dislikes pacifism, and it is possible that he is in favour of the attitude maintained by the French Government on this question. If, however, he were to favour the proposal that was taken to the commission there would be nothing to stop him from supporting it and upon his return to France from publicly urging that such a declaration should be acted upon. The same consideration would apply to M. Dupont, a trade unionist coming from Belgium.

With Mr. Pardacu Fremya, coming from Rumania, however, the situation would be different. He, like MM. Cot and Dupont, would be advocating a policy in opposition to that followed by his Government, but unlike them it would not be possible for him to return and publicly advocate such a policy. Indeed, unless it could be taken for granted that he would be endorsing a policy approved by his Government it would not have been possible for him to be in attendance at Helsinki. The same thing would apply in the case of Mr. Ostap Dluski from Poland and to Mr. Guerogui Nadjakov from Bulgaria.

Now in contemplating the operations of international meetings like the Helsinki Assembly we have to face the fact that the considerations we have outlined above in their application to the aspect of policy which is a particular concern of pacifists, apply in regard to every issue of policy that comes under discussion.

A further consequence of the circumstances we have noted is that except on matters of minor detail the delegates from countries where single-party government obtains will speak with one voice, while there are likely to be substantial differences of view between the members of the delegations from the countries where there are contending parties and freedom of public discussion.

There may be, for instance, very substantial differences in outlook between Mrs. Phoebe Cusden, Professor Bernal and Mr. Charles Marland all coming from Britain: there will be no differences on points of substance between Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg and Mr. Alexander Kornelchuk from the USSR. Some members of the British and other delegations may be opposed to the policies being pursued by their governments. No members of the Russian, Polish, Bulgarian, and Rumanian delegations will be opposed to the policies endorsed by their governments.

Because the conditions in which it comes together, however, make it impossible for the World Assembly of Peace to operate in the same way as do the conferences that bring together only the representatives of organisations from the countries that are democratic in the Western sense, this does not mean that they must necessarily be valueless. What it means is that the results to be looked for from such meetings must be quite different from the results to be looked for from conferences such as the Labour and Socialist International.

We propose to return to the discussion of this matter next week.

## The Russell-Einstein statement

HAVING known something of the discussion in which Einstein had been involved before his death, about a statement by leading scientists on the dangers of nuclear war, I have for some time looked forward to the declaration which was released by Bertrand Russell in London on July 9.

There are two parts of the declaration which seem to me most useful. One is the emphasis on the extreme dangers to mankind from various effects, such as fall-out, from the use of the H-bomb. There is no doubt that in the US, and at least some other countries, recent months have witnessed a systematic effort to lull people into complacency by playing down the danger. Under the circumstances it is most helpful to have men whose knowledge and scientific integrity cannot be doubted declare that "the men who know the most are the most gloomy."

The other very useful contribution is the strong warning that war itself must be abolished and that prohibition of nuclear weapons by itself means little since all nations that know how to produce them will do so in the last resort, no matter what engagements to the contrary they may have entered into.

This is the same warning that the top German scientists, Hahn, Heisenberg and von Weizsacker gave to Niemoller and other German churchmen a year ago.

On the other hand, there are some disappointing aspects about the Russell statement, and again I mention two of them. In the first place, advance announcements over here had led us, in some cases, to think that the statement would be, or be accompanied by, a "last testament" of Einstein's in which he would state publicly, as he is reliably reported to have done privately, that his letter to Roosevelt suggesting that A-bombs would and should be produced was a mistake. Without this declaration of "repentance" the present statement does not carry the moral weight which it otherwise might.

The other disappointing aspect is the absence from the statement of the signatures of so many scientists whose names should be there. It will be interesting to learn the reason for this. In particular, one is puzzled and distressed not to find a single signer, so far as I know, from among men who were really close to Einstein.

As this is being written during a brief

□ FROM PAGE ONE

This is of course a very important change of attitude among politicians, but it leaves all the vital questions that have to be resolved unsettled. All these statements of the gravity of the situation, whether they are made by Lord Russell and his colleagues, or by General MacArthur and Viscount Cecil in their earlier pronouncements equally leave the essential issues unsettled.

How inadequate such pronouncements really are is indicated by the differences expressed between Lord Russell and Professor Joliot-Curie regarding the right to assist where there is armed rebellion against imperialist tyranny. Both Professor Joliot-Curie and Lord Russell have sought to minimise this difference but it is far from being a disagreement on a mere matter of detail: it is fundamental. The threat of nuclear warfare is an absolute threat; it can only be dealt with from an absolute position.

The Russians at Geneva, as politicians dealing with other politicians, all of whom find it difficult to set aside their earlier militarist assumptions, are probably right to insist that the profitable way is to approach the objective they seek by stages: the stages, however, should be decided upon with the realisation that today the only safe objective is a disarmed world and that we can only reach that objective as we become willing to substitute reliance on trust for reliance on the "security" of arms.

The people who are to live in the "demilitarised zones" that are among the proposals that will come under discussion will be expected to place their reliance on trust instead of arms. It is obvious that it will be easier for them to trust in confidence the bigger the zones. A demilitarised Europe would feel more secure than an armed Europe between two demilitarised strips.

The highest possible degree of confidence will be reached when the zones can embrace the world.

### "Great" men and small

THE personal notes of Maxim Litvinov, Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs between the wars, have just been published in English by Deutsch (18s.) as "Notes from a Journal." A comment made on them in a leading article in the Manchester Guardian provides what seems to us to be a horrifying indication of today's debasement of values.

After remarking that the book "fits in with what we know of Litvinov, a Westerner in temper who could not easily stomach the crudities of Stalin's rule, but who was, none the less, a faithful Bolshevik," the Guardian goes on to say that "the present leaders of Russia have done something to relax the icy grip of Stalin's latter rule; but they look rather small and provincial beside the first revolutionaries."

The criterion of "greatness" indicated in this comment would be deplorable from any quarter; coming from a "liberal" newspaper with a great humanist tradition it is a dreadful indication of the degradation that has befallen our political standards.

### In Geneva

ONE of the most striking indications of the changes that have taken place in the outlook of the Russian leaders is the different view they take regarding their personal security. This is apparent from the way they now behave in Russia and is also very obvious in Geneva.

The Soviet delegation to the Four Power Talks gave Swiss security guards a worried two hours by driving round Geneva in an open car, the News Chronicle reports.

"The Russians appeared to have few security men with them," according to the London Evening Standard. "The American party was preceded by a car full of Swiss soldiers; and followed by police motorcyclists and FBI men. The President was in an open car. On the running boards were members of his personal bodyguard of secret service men."

With a shooting allay at a Communist Embassy in Switzerland still a painful memory and central Europe filled with victims of the ruthlessness of the Stalin

## BEHIND THE NEWS

regime, the behaviour of the Russian leaders is noteworthy.

### Important victory in U.S. passport case

THE important part played by US Courts in protecting the civil liberties of Americans was further illustrated recently when a significant decision in a passport case was unanimously given by the Federal Court of Appeals.

The case was that of Max Schachtman, leader of the Independent Socialist Party, which takes a Third Camp position.

Schachtman had previously been denied a passport, presumably because of his association with the ISL which is on the Attorney General's list as a "subversive" organisation. Schachtman appealed against the decision and the case has been dragging on for some time. When the Appeals Court decision was handed down the Court said the right to travel was a "natural right" which could only be abridged by "due process of law" and Schachtman had been denied this by the arbitrary decision of the Passport Department.

Now there will be an intensified campaign to get the name of the ISL removed from the subversive list.

Recently it was stated that a leaflet of which Schachtman was joint author, entitled "Stalinism is not Socialism," was used some years ago by the American State Department (unknown to Schachtman) as propaganda material dropped over mainland China!

### The killing of Ruth Ellis

THE extent of the distress that has been felt among the British people at the execution of Ruth Ellis points very clearly to one thing: it is more than time that the death penalty was abandoned in this country.

There were really no special circumstances why Ruth Ellis should have been freed from the consequences legally provided for her crime. This was premeditated and deliberate. It is true that she had a reason for it, and that her victim had not—any more than she herself—behaved in a way that calls for commendation; but then everyone who commits the crime of murder has a reason for it.

The attitude of this woman in Court was such that no basis for an appeal was provided. She made no attempt to excuse or extenuate what she had done and whether we look upon the disorder in her life with pity or condemnation we can only approve and admire her attitude during the trial. It is clear that she had ceased to desire to live and that the cancellation of her sentence would have been the opposite of an act of mercy.

Inconsistent though it may be, however, there is nevertheless a very widespread regret that the Home Secretary did not find it possible to grant a reprieve. We believe that this is because most people are capable of understanding the stress and passion under which Ruth Ellis acted.

They comprehend her motive and the impulse that led to the tragedy. Where there is understanding there can be pity. "To know all is to forgive all."

There are motives and impulses behind every murder, however, and although they are not so easy of understanding this does not mean that they are inexplicable. These also could be understood if our sense of social responsibility and our capacity for compassion were great enough.

The fact that we can believe that a wrong has been done in killing Ruth Ellis means that we really believe that a wrong is done whenever society kills one of its members.

A striking comment has been made by the teachers of a school near Holloway

prison. Speaking from their own observation they say that an execution means that great numbers of children have to be a little corrupted; and we may add that it has to be carried out by someone whose complete corruption has been required by society.

It is now fully demonstrated that capital punishment is not effective as a deterrent; comparison of the murder rates in countries with the death penalty and those without it makes this evident.

It is time that Britain cleansed itself of this abomination.

### The Commando stroke

THE blow with which Sergeant Emmett-Dunne killed Sergeant Watters was a "Commando Stroke," a blow by means of which men were taught to inflict death in war-time. Sergeant Emmett-Dunne used it for other purposes than the purpose of war, and he was convicted of using it to kill in order to further ends of his own when he was only entitled to use it to further the purposes of his Government.

This reminder of the methods and standard of conduct appropriate to Commandos is not without reference to a happening that was reported while the trial was in progress. The type of activity that Commandos were recruiting to undertake had to be carried out in absolute secrecy and was accompanied by special risks that were held to justify drastic measures in order that they might carry through the work upon which they were engaged.

In Kenya two lads came upon the hiding-place of some armed Mau Mau. Some among the Mau Mau killed the two lads, and all eight of them have been condemned to death.

These unfortunate lads were killed by Kikuyu who took these measures to secure their own safety. It was cruel work and the youth of the victims added to the horror. These Africans, however, held that they were engaged in warfare. The difference between what they were doing and Commando activities was that they held that they were operating on their own soil.

They acted as Commandos were encouraged to act, against an enemy who might have put their lives in jeopardy prevented their carrying out the piece of destruction they were engaged upon, killing the Africans the authorities held their turn will be carrying out an act of war that has nothing to do with justice.

### War crimes and military orders

THE modified acceptance of the role of the soldier who commits a crime under orders in war by the German Government as shown in the book "The Future German Soldier," has revived the press correspondence on this passage, reproduced in Peace News on July 8, that had to be removed from the British Manual of Military Law in 1944 before the Nuremberg trials were undertaken. It read as follows:

"It is important to note that members of the armed forces who commit such violations of the recognised rules of warfare as are ordered by their Government or their commander are not war criminals and cannot therefore be punished by the enemy."

There is the same kind of discussion that we have had previously on whether it really represented the law as understood by the British authorities whether it was included by some kind of inadvertence.

In a letter to the Daily Telegraph Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds writes that it was he who prepared the chapter in which this passage occurred and it "stood unchallenged for 32 years from 1912 to 1944." He makes a soldierly comment that the Hague Rules are not law in any land, but that general rules of conduct with no power to enforce them, and "I have never been able to understand why lawyers should be permitted to intrude into the interpretation of the customs of warfare."

In any case there is surely an exceedingly hollow academic ring about a discussion on what was to be regarded by Britain as the state of the law, for 32 years every soldier had access to the above passage as indicating position.

### Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

"afford little chance of a purely passive equilibrium." The "concert of power" equivalent international organisation—rests on a basis much more fragile than ever before.

So-called practical reasons for avoiding abolishing war are indeed stronger than ever before but von Neumann sees "no guarantee that a real danger can control human action better than a convincing appearance of danger." One of the "real" possibilities, points out, is global climate control and this becomes possible "perhaps all our present improvements" resulting from the possibilities of nuclear warfare "will seem simple."

"Once such possibilities become actual," von Neumann warns, and thus adds further weight to the Russell-Einstein warning, "they will be exploited." His personal conclusion is a sense goes beyond Russell's since he questions whether war will be abolished unless international problems are resolved.

One is horrified at the mentality of scientists who will exploit any destructive possibility. At this point one realizes how true and imperative is that sentence from the Russell-Einstein statement which says: "We have to learn to think in a new way."

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## REPORT FROM INDIA

# The legacy of Gandhi

Dr. Homer A. Jack, editor of "The Wit and Wisdom of Gandhi" and other studies of Gandhism, is on a ten-week pilgrimage through India, to visit persons and places associated with the life of Mahatma Gandhi and to evaluate the legacy of Gandhi in India today. Following is his first article. Others will include an interview with Vinoba Bhave, a visit to Sevagram, and a talk with "The Frontier Gandhi" in Pakistan.

ONE of my first objectives upon landing in Calcutta, from Burma, was to visit the grave of C. F. Andrews.

Today not too many Indians (and, for that matter, not too many Westerners) remember this itinerant Anglican who was the bridge between Gandhi and the West and also between Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. Andrews and Gandhi first met in South Africa in 1913. The dark-skinned Gandhi was not allowed to hear Andrews preach in a white-apartheid church.

Andrews, who did more to show India and its leaders the good qualities of the English than anybody in his generation, is a symbol of how a Westerner can help the East. For a vivid, moving account of Andrews (and Gandhi and Tagore), one must read the valuable biography published in 1950 by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes.

### At the grave of C. F. Andrews

A taxi-full of leaders of the Brahma Samaj, a liberal Hindu group, took me to the Lower Circular Road Cemetery in Calcutta and the old keeper showed us Andrews' grave not far from the entrance and near the heavy-trafficked street.

The simple grave had this wording on four strips of marble: "Charles Freer Andrews: The Friend of the Poor: Known to India as Christ's Faithful Apostle and as 'Deenabandu.' Born Feb. 12, 1871, and died April 5, 1940."

It was late in the morning and no flowers were available, and so on my last day in Calcutta I visited the grave again, this time alone. For six annas I bought two large bunches of sun-flowers and the vendor found an old pot for them. I put the flowers on one corner of the grave in memory of Deenabandu and on behalf of those Westerners who are continuing the work of C. F. Andrews, even now that India is free.

### Souvenirs of Gandhi

In Calcutta itself one soon sees various signs of Gandhi. The postage stamps issued in his honour shortly after his death are no longer available at the post-office, but the street stamp-sellers can furnish them. Souvenir houses usually have small ivory or wooden statues of Gandhi, often the only person so honoured unless it be Subhas Chandra Bose.

The picture stalls in the markets have several lithographs of Gandhi, one showing him in a number of poses, including his martyrdom in lurid detail. The smaller bookstalls have only

## Briefly

THE US Senate has endorsed a military expenditure for the coming year of £11,428 millions: this is approximately £4 10s. per head of the population of the world.

Peace News posters are to be seen on the Leyton, Leytonstone, and Wanstead Underground stations, paid for by the local group of the Peace Pledge Union.

## GENEVA

IT is not without interest that the Council of the War Resisters' International will be meeting in Geneva at the same time as the "summit" conference of the four powers. The Council, which is appointed at the Triennial Conference and normally meets once a year, will have a busy four days reviewing the work of the International, considering the report of the Executive Committee appointed at last year's conference, making plans for the future and, on this occasion, discussing possible changes in the constitution.

Whatever may be the outcome of the Four Power Talks, it will not represent the pacifist solution to the problems and we believe that to be the only practicable alternative to policies which, however moderated, must lead to war so long as they are based upon the readiness to use violence in the last resort.

Over and against the policy of fear stands the world wide witness of the WRI and its message of courage and hope. Pacifists should be encouraged by the symbolic fact that those who are concerned with the renunciation of war will be meeting at the same time and place as those whose objects are much less drastic and fundamental.

But then if the pacifist witness is to be extended, we must all increase the efforts we are making, and the Peace Pledge Union must play its full part not only through intensifying its activities in Britain, but through the fellowship of the WRI. It is on that basis that I make my special appeal this week for the PPU Headquarters Fund, which aims at raising one-fifth of the annual expenditure of the Union and thus helps to make possible the PPU grant to the WRI as well as campaigning at home.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000  
Amount received to date: £506

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

an occasional volume by or about Gandhiji, as he is affectionately called still, but the bigger stores now have available the huge new volume of photographs published by the government of India and the recently-published "At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi," written by Rajendra Prasad, Gandhi's longtime associate and now president of the Republic of India.

The eight-volume biography, "Mahatma," is partly out of print, but there is a new 565-page descriptive bibliography of Gandhi, by Jagdish Sharma, compiled as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Michigan. It is probably true that there are more books about Gandhi than any other man in history except Jesus.

In Calcutta also there are evidences of Gandhi and Gandhism in the daily press. For months there has been a Satyagraha campaign of Indians entering Goa in an attempt to wrest—non-violently—this pocket of the Indian subcontinent from Portuguese domination.

Every day there are detailed Press accounts of this campaign, although also there are stories of how some Indian groups, including the Communists, call for "police action" against Goa, a euphemism for war.

There are other Satyagraha campaigns, one by the Sikhs in East Punjab, shouting slogans in defiance of a ban and demanding a separate Sikhistan province. And where else but in Gandhi's India would forty-seven students of Calcutta National Medical College hunger-strike as a protest against the dismissal of their teacher of Pharmacology?

### Cadet corps at Santiniketan

I made one other pilgrimage during my stay in Calcutta. I boarded a train and took the slow, four-hour, 90-mile trip slightly north-west to Bolpur, the site of Santiniketan, the school founded by Tagore. It was here also that Gandhi transferred his ashram after he returned to India from South Africa about forty years ago. It was here that C. F. Andrews made his headquarters, if it could ever be said that he had a headquarters. It was here that the first session of the World Pacifist Conference was held in 1949.

The school itself, now an international university called Visva-Bharati, was on vacation, but I mainly wanted to see the small huts where Gandhi and Andrews stayed. In the shadow of the fine house which was Tagore's were their two small houses, at the end of a row of tall trees and orange lilies. They looked like millions of other thatched houses throughout India.

The spirit of Gandhi, Andrews, and Tagore may be fading from Santiniketan, although outwardly the school, with its sister institute of rural reconstruction—Sriniketan—may be more prosperous and experimental than ever.

There are reports that the Deenabandhu Bhavana (The Andrews Memorial Hall for Christian and Western Studies) has fallen out of favour, although the School of Sino-Indian Studies is soon to have a new building, thanks to a recent gift from the Peoples Republic of China.

Santiniketan—meaning "The abode of peace" and so named by Rabindranath, Tagore's father—now supports a unit of the National Cadet Corps, voluntary to be sure, but still military and with heavy social pressure on the students to participate. Even while the World Pacifist Conference was meeting in its sacred precincts, plans were afoot to introduce military training into Tagore's college. And somehow many see no contradiction between this Cadet Corps and the legacy of Gandhi—and Tagore.

## PEOPLE AND PLACES

### Schoolboy readers

"I AM only a schoolboy and I am hoping to become a pacifist and leave the school (cadet) corps. If you have any pamphlets or advice on the subject, I should be very grateful if you could send them."

So runs a letter which comes from one of England's well-known public schools.

"I have for the last few months been reading your Peace News," the boy adds. "I have borrowed it previously from a friend here at school, but in the holidays I have no one to obtain it from."

"Do you think it would be possible for me to receive a copy each week during my holiday only?"

From another boy in the same school has come a request "Please send five each of the Soper, Acland, and Comfort leaflets."

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors is in touch with the boys about refusing participation in the Cadet Force.

PN readers are certainly active in their schools on peace issues, witness Carol Taylor's election campaign (this column July 8).

One other incident should find a place here. An art teacher in a London school told me of a pleasant surprise he had at finding a boy reading Peace News during break.

### "Wild Thyme"

OLDER readers of Peace News may recall how we all laughed when a magistrate of the Marylebone Court described John Fletcher, Quaker prison chaplain known to hundreds of conscientious objectors, as "an evil thing."

The occasion was when, in February, 1948, John Fletcher appeared as a witness for a

nineteen-year-old CO who was refusing alternative service.

Last week the CO was in the news again. Philip Guard is the author of the book and lyrics for "Wild Thyme," the new musical comedy at the Duke of York Theatre.

The Observer's critic, reviewing "Wild Thyme," writes about "sensationally gifted . . . Denis Quilley, whose singing, dancing, acting, acrobatics, looks, smile, torso, energy and above all, personality, are worth at least £200 a week."

Denis Quilley was a Z Reservist CO. He told a London Tribunal that he had enjoyed life in the Royal Corps of Signals, never giving a thought about whether what he was doing was right or wrong—until he saw the film "All Quiet on the Western Front."

He was recognised as a CO.

### Changing the climate—I

"CHANGING the climate of public opinion," is a much used phrase these days.

At work on the job is Peace Pledge Union member Joan Dark. She was the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers' delegate at—wait for it—the Annual Conference of Representatives of Unions catering for Women Workers recently.

The conference had before it a report which showed that CD was the main concern of the Advisory Council of the Women's Voluntary Service.

Joan Dark was loudly applauded when she told the conference:

"Don't waste your efforts on futile attempts at protection—there is no adequate defence against the H-bomb; even the tests are dangerous, and scientists have admitted that the results of the release of radioactivity are un-



A Vietnamese mother and child who have fled to safety.

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(Regd. War Charities Act, 1940)

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## LLANGOLLEN: NINE YEARS OF STRIVING FOR PEACE

by Margaret Brooks

IN the valley of the Dee, in the Vale of Llangollen, music-makers, singers and dancers from many lands came together last week for the ninth International Musical Eisteddfod of Llangollen.

It was indeed a joyous festival, with the little old Welsh town (pop. 2,937), thronged to such capacity that traffic was slowed to walking pace. "Welcome to Wales" read the signs and the flags of all the nations fluttered in the sunshine. "Always good weather for Llangollen" is the new tradition one heard in the packed train from Dolgelly and the West.

The week's programme opened with Benjamin Britten's "The Turn of the Screw" and broadened out to include the Berliner Angerknaben, the Damkören Pro Musica, Stockholm, the Sölvgtuttene, Oslo, the Tentre Ladies' Choir, Chirk; the Sligo Singers, the "Homin" Male Voice Choir from the Ukraine and many other choral groups.

On Wednesday came the Folk Music Concert with dancers and singers again out in the town in their gay national costumes, generously giving performances in the Riverside Gardens to the delight of hundreds of folk strolling on the heights above or picnicking with their children on the rocks and ledges in the bed of the tumbling river Dee. Sometimes a great crowd would squeeze up good-naturedly

around a friendly singer from France or Spain or a little Welsh girl—all competitors—signing autographs.

Laughter and song went everywhere with the Latvian Folk Singers and Dancers and the "Kalev" Folk Dancers from Estonia in their colourful costumes and high, jewelled head-dresses. Les Sans Souci from Lille were there along with the Danzas Ochagavia of Educacion Y Descanso of Spain, the Portuguese Rancho do Douro Litoral of Oporto, and from the USA, the Ohio State University Dancers.

### The common people

Mr. J. Rhys Roberts, chairman of the International Eisteddfod, declared in his address of welcome: "many believe that the individual has no part to say in the destiny of civilisation or in the question of peace and war. They maintain it is a matter entirely for statesmen and diplomats. We in Llangollen believe that the common people can play a vital part in bringing about a feeling of fellowship and reducing hostility and suspicion among the nations."

"We can learn to respect and appreciate the characteristics of other countries. That is why we have been striving for nine years to bring together the common people of many nations here at Llangollen."

By Hugh Brock

known. The fact that there were 300 casualties among the personnel engaged in the Bikini test has been kept secret until now!

"We should work, as international Trade Unionists, for the abolition of war, and I appeal to single women (and also mothers who cannot possibly want their sons to be conscripted to kill their fellow Trade Unionists in other lands).

"Civil Defence is a sop and part of war psychology to make us believe and accept that war is inevitable; it is an effort to allay our uneasiness and perfectly logical fears of injury, deformed children and a slow and horrible death. Let us remember that in Japan civilians are still dying from the effects of the A-bomb which was dropped 10 years ago.

"I repeat. Don't waste your time on Civil Defence—there is more important work to be done."

### Changing the climate—II

FOLLOWING a lecture by the Secretary of the Federation of Congregational Women in North London recently on "The Lordship of Christ in the World," there was group discussion.

One group leader, reporting the findings afterwards, said—in answer to a set question: "Can Christians . . . turn the minds of those who may be leaders in thought and action into peaceable channels?"

"We cannot always agree with the pacifists, but unquestionably they have changed the climate since 1914. At that time there was a flag-waving atmosphere. But in the years since, due no doubt to the work of the pacifist organisations, all this has changed and men have come to see that war is wrong."



## Let's play pacifists

"LEFT, right, left, right. Halt!" A vigorous change of arms outside the study door foretells a further afternoon's attention to the wallpaper in the hall. Lacerated by the muzzles of small guns and other, more advanced weapons of our enlightened times, mass-produced, and commanding, it appears, an ever-ready sale in all toy shops and stores, our small flat bears ample evidence of our devotion to the principles of Unrepressed Upbringing. And yet . . . sometimes—just sometimes—one asks oneself whether Absolute Freedom for the Child is really the best for All.

Conversation with other parents for a time sustains us against these doubts. But plunging back once more into the maelstrom of nursery life (confined neither to nursery nor garden—"Won't it be lovely to have a garden for the children to play in?"), shameful fears return, the stronger for their sleep. One supposes that this is what life is like in Wellington Barracks.

Children play soldiers readily enough. Should one, could one, encourage them to play pacifists? And what form should the game take? Parades with tiny posters? Mock tribunals with sensational prison sentences? Distribution of small, urgent leaflets? Court-martials (that would provide the opportunity for dressing up a bit and having a few guns around)? Bringing them up to accept conventional standards is easy enough, one might almost say child's play; others will do it for you. But how to instil the revolutionary concept? If bloodless.

★

Angela, aged four, is the big problem. The blood-lust seems well developed, the conscience totally unawakened, and sheer brute strength quite abnormal. Her self-expression hasn't as yet taken any of the really nastier forms, such as tearing flies limb from limb or joining bricks to cats, but one begins to feel for the invading nation who dares to set foot on soil occupied by the country's twentines.

Perhaps a few of the more gentle texts on the nursery wall? And scriptural pictures? But then one remembers what happened to "Virgin and Child" only last week, while "God Seeth Thee," peppered with realistic small shot yesterday, is fit only for the smallest and least public room in the flat. Even the pastoral scene packed with bunnies and lambs lying down with a group of surprisingly passive carnivores was last seen wrapped round a present (for daddy) of mud from rations, prior to seige. Somehow, somewhere, one feels, a link has been overlooked, a thread not drawn . . . Groping, in the presence of the Sunday school-teacher, produced only an understanding smile. The Church appears reluctant to face the moral issue and cheerfully declines to share forebodings for the future.

★

One thing consoles. We went through much the same phase ourselves, and we survived. Or did we? Really, the longer one struggles on the more one senses the unwisdom of second thoughts.

"Bang, bang! Look, daddy's umbrella. I'm an H-bomb!"

It'll all come out in the wash. One mustn't give them inhibitions. Spontaneity's the thing. In time, in time . . .

JON WYNNE-TYSON,

## For American COs

AMONG the publications for American conscientious objectors issued by the Central Committee for COs from 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, are:

Bibliography of Conscientious Objection to War, 24 pp, 173 titles, annotated, 20 cents. Handbook for Conscientious Objectors, 104 pp, 35 cents.

Notice—Men of Draft Age, 9½-11 inch poster offering services of CCCO with blank space for local counselling agency, samples free, 1 cent each in quantities. All prices include postage.

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## "A preview of the Future."

# REPORT ON AMERICA

Tom Wardle prefaced his talk, reported here by Olwen Battersby, with an expression of appreciation for the peace work undertaken by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), the body which organised his lecture tour in the USA earlier this year.

"THERE is a decline in the sense of significance in life.

That is, I believe, the fundamental malaise from which we suffer," said Tom Wardle, summing up the impression he had gained on a three months lecture tour of America at a Peace News meeting in London last week.

What was happening in the United States was very much what was happening in Europe and Russia and the rest of the world, but it was so much more intense there. The US was a preview of the future.

Americans were not hysterical, hate-filled war-mongers. On the whole "the sober and somewhat depressing fact is that most people are not interested in politics. They hold no real views one way or the other." The Republican and Democratic parties held a political monopoly and expressed roughly the same policy and the average American had to accept this policy or remain politically ineffective. Exactly the same position had been revealed at the recent British General Election.

### Accent on trivialities

Television, and to a lesser extent radio, controlled and deadened thought; newspapers concentrated on local news, triviality and entertainment and ignored or played down the news that really mattered. Under such circumstances it was not surprising that there was political apathy. "As far as defence and foreign policy is concerned," Tom Wardle said, "I believe democracy no longer operates in the US."

But above all, the factor which contributed most to the deadening of creative thought and faculties was the increasing mechanisation of life. The balance between machine and man was upset. Machines were coming into the ascendancy and their standards were beginning to be imposed over all. This meant growing conformity in behaviour, thought and feeling. "The one thing you cannot have in a machine is personality, individuality."

In economic terms the problem was no longer how to produce, but how to consume the gargantuan production that poured out of US factories every year. Men and women were manipulated by advertisers to increase their consumption as production levels required it.

This emphasis on consumption and the increase in the number of people engaged in encouraging consumption as against producers, was leading to strange changes in the psychology of the American people. Eminent sociologists like David Riesman of Chicago University had commented on this fact. They became passive, taking in life rather than giving it out. Personal creativity was on the decrease.

### Choice of Super States

All this was taking place at a time when America had emerged on the world stage as a great power. As with Britain in the nineteenth century, she felt that responsibility carried with it the right to rule and dominate. So many Americans regarded it as the historic and Christian duty of their nation to save the world from Communism in return for which she should have the gratitude and allegiance of the smaller states. "So we enter the age of the Super-State. Nor is America the only contender for world fatherhood. Russia is also on the scene."

"So we have a choice of Super-States. We can either drink coca-cola, read comics and think nothing; or we can wear a sack suit, read what we are allowed, and think what we are told. It would seem to me to be the part of sanity and humanity for those of us who find ourselves what A. J. Muste has called the 'men between,' to say 'a plague on both your houses'."

In taking this line we could draw encouragement from those nations of Africa and Asia, still technologically undeveloped who were

capable of bringing to the world a new vision of life and social organisation.

"If we want a pacifist world," he continued, "the problem is not simply to do away with war, we must enable people to have life more abundantly in full freedom, with full dignity and a sense of mattering."

It was conceivable that both sides in the cold war now saw the futility of war as a means of furthering their ends, and that some system might be devised—some collective security arrangements perhaps—by which a Third World War might be avoided, but which would bring instead of creative peace the peace of the graveyard or the concentration camp. Such a peace might be made over the body of Europe or Asia.

### A new political philosophy

We in Britain were in the same position as radicals in America. We had to challenge the two great parties here—which were really one party—in a way which would be politically effective. This pointed to the need for a new party, but it was illusory to think that such a party could be based on pacifists alone.

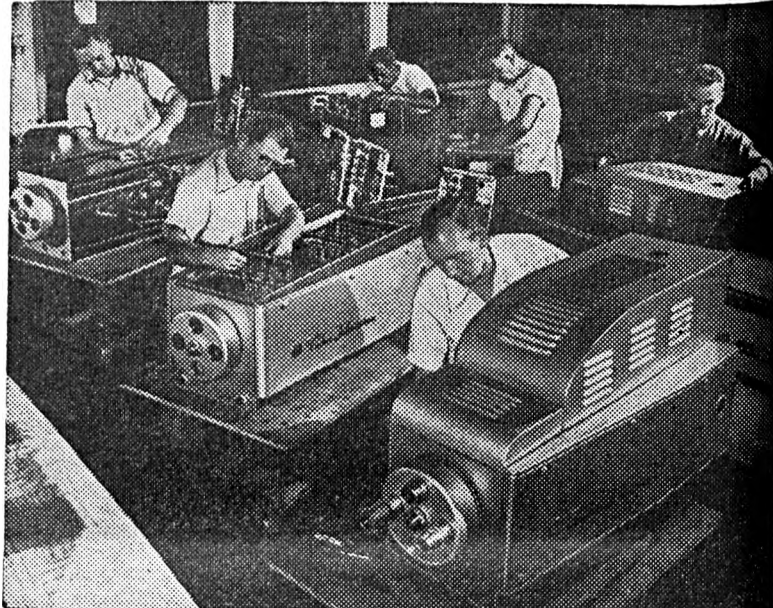
If every pacifist in the country were in it, it would be far too small and too exclusive to have any real effect.

What was needed was a grouping of a wider nature in which pacifists could have their place—perhaps a leading place. The periphery of such a grouping he thought would contain those who repudiated collective security, "blocism," and were prepared for unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb.

But there would have to be an intelligent domestic programme to go along with it.

The time was ripe for such a new political philosophy and there was no lack of minds at work on it already.

Such an attempt might seem Utopian, went on Tom Wardle, if it were not for the fact that there were many millions in the world, especially in Asia and Africa who wished to take a different road from that travelled by Russia and the West; who wished to preserve human and cultural values against the terrific inroads made by modern technology and industrial organisation. There were too, in America—the very heart of the Second



Workers in a US television plant engaged in final assembly. Electronic devices now make possible completely automatic assembly lines which will produce vastly increased quantities of goods with a fraction of the former labour force. This Automation, as it is called, has already been applied to the motor-car, chemical and oil industry and is now being extended to manufacturing trades. In addition to the problem of unemployment, Automation poses serious psychological and social problems which Tom Wardle discusses in the speech reproduced on this page.

Industrial Revolution—men and women who were alarmed at its implications for mankind, alarmed particularly for "the soul of man."

And there was also a great deal of re-thinking among pacifists about the way in which they could communicate the pacifist ideal in modern times.

This was not easy, the existing situation, particularly from a psychological point of view, was complex beyond words, and the beginning of wisdom for pacifists as for others, was the recognition of this complexity.

What was good pacifist strategy in the 1930's was not good enough today. History had altered profoundly—especially with regard to the demise of socialist idealism and the collapse of the labour movement—but there was no suggestion in most pacifist thinking and policy that they were aware of it. It was fortunate therefore that a beginning had been made in the United States towards a re-evaluation of pacifist methods and programmes.

There was a huge enthusiasm, the speaker discovered, among many in the United States for some new movement which might come as a liberating force from the pressures and coercions of our time. Such a new movement, for the recovery of the human soul, would need to have about it that subtle blend of religious and political ideas which characterised the Gandhian movement of India—idealism in practice. To some extent the Third Camp movement was an attempt to do that, but it had further to go. At some point it must be able seriously to challenge the political status-quo.

"I do not doubt that history, as she has done in the past, will produce the men and women to match the hour," Tom Wardle concluded, "and perhaps in our lifetime we shall witness the birth of a new renaissance."

What is "the American way of life?" Is automation a boon or a menace? Must capitalism lead to war?

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As this is reserve the right publication, we to make it as we reasonably use organisers

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# THE ARMY'S VIEW OF RADIO-ACTIVE FALL OUT

## Effects of atomic fall-out

THERE has been much concern expressed not only in your columns, but also by Lord Russell and his fellow scientists on the effects of fall-out involved in nuclear warfare.

This interests me because I have recently been for 15 days with the RAMC in which I was given a course in atomics and methods of protection. It would seem that the military and CD experts are seriously formulating their strategy in the belief that this fall-out is not very harmful. Outside a three-quarter mile radius in an atomic explosion, they say, anyone in a dug-out will probably be unhurt and can emerge after 15 seconds, and it will be possible to pass convoys through the bombed areas 48 hours after the explosion. This, and much more, gives the impression, apparently made in good faith, that nuclear weapons will not mean almost total destruction.

That is why it seems most important that a paper should be published by experts on the approximate results of future wars so that this unrealistic approach can be discredited. Name and address withheld.—Ed. PN.

## The Labour Party controversy

DESPITE all the correspondence on the Acland issue, I am still of the opinion that he should have made his challenge inside the Party first. There are a number of Labour MPs and candidates who have consistently put forward the pacifist case inside the Party.

The criticism that it was dishonest to get pacifists in Parliament through the Party machine was completely unjustified. All the Labour candidates who are pacifists that I know made it quite clear where they stood at meetings and in their election address.

It would be an opportunity now of saying that there are many people who do appreciate what these men have done in the House of Commons in making a stand against war; they have carried out their responsibilities extremely well.

The Labour Party is the only political Party which can achieve power and make any decisive change in the foreign policy of this country. The work must be carried on inside the constituency parties, trade unions and co-ops, not in the political wilderness. Ron Hazzard has correctly pointed out that pacifists in the political field find their position not unlike those in the religious sphere. Pacifists spend too much time in the wilderness; contact with non-pacifists is essential.

DENIS BRIAN.

## The Christian Party

IN your issue of July 15, you allege (in a comment on a letter) that the London Christian Party has become the Fellowship Party. This is not so.

The London Christian Party is part of the national Christian Party, which has been established for more than a decade as a Christian pacifist political party, and has participated in borough council, county council and Parliamentary elections.

During the recent general election, the London Christian Party supported the pacifist candidate John Loverseed, but it has no official connection with the Fellowship Party of which Mr. Loverseed is chairman.

Some members of the London Christian

Party favour the suggestion of the Fellowship Party Executive that representatives of the Christian Party and the Fellowship Party should meet to discuss co-operation and possible amalgamation.

There, for the moment, the matter rests.

RONALD MALLONE.

(Chairman, London Christian Party)

141 Woolacombe Rd., S.E.3.

We regret that we were wrongly informed on the position of the two parties.—Ed. PN.

## Atomic protest group

RESULTING from a letter by the Rev. W. Pelz of Lostock, published in the Manchester Guardian, a group has been formed in London with the specific purpose of stopping the manufacture, testing or use of nuclear weapons—primarily, of course, the hydrogen-bomb.

We are equally opposed to all nuclear weapons, by whomsoever they are made, and consequently to the policies of all governments making them (Being a British group, however, we begin our charity here). The individuals concerned consequently feel it necessary, because of the hopelessly inadequate "opposition" of official political parties, to take a principled, independent stand against the criminal threat to human survival manifest in the results of the mere testing of these weapons.

Our task for the present is the dissemination of correct information—scientific and political—in order to widen, develop and organise public protest in Britain, with the object of increasing pressure on the Government—and of encouraging similar movements abroad.

We are not, as a group, pacifist, but feel sure that our aims command the sympathy of your readers, to whom we should like to appeal for support—in the form of information on the effects of radiation, etc., of practical suggestions for further work, of letters and articles, in attending discussion meetings and, of course, by donations of money.

All interested are asked to write to "The Lostock Group," C/o Contemporary Press, at the address below.

DONALD HARRIS.

26 Heber Rd., London, N.W.2.

## The rail strike

IT is difficult in a few words to reply to my critics on the rail strike, since apparently I need to explain to them the basic laws of economics! However, I hope it will suffice to say that if one has political aims, as Socialists have, to transfer the ownership of wealth (that is factories, land, etc.) to the community as a whole, to enable production to be planned and increased for the benefit of all, surely it is not "stealing" to transfer the ownership of the wealth from the few who happen to have it at the moment. It is, indeed, hard to see what moral right the shareholders have to their wealth, in any case, since they, particularly in larger concerns, have done no work to produce the railways, mines or other industries which they own.

In reply to Mr. Norris Page (PN, July 1), no right-minded Socialist would wish the owners of the tiny minority of shares who happen to be old age pensioners or who are disabled, to suffer as the result of any industry being taken into

public ownership. Firstly, in any case, pensions should be adequate to meet the needs of all. Secondly, cases of hardship should be dealt with generously. The introduction of Socialism is intended to be a method of increasing the wealth and happiness of all who are prepared to do their minimum duties to the community in the form of useful work, or who are unable to do so because of age or infirmity. I do not think that "compensation" pro rata for former shareholdings is a method of achieving this.

I would like to express surprise at a pacifist (presumably), giving support to state appointed Arbitration Tribunals, whose knowledge of the industries and workers they are dealing with is about as great as the ability of CO Tribunals to assess a youth's sincerity as a CO!

TED BERROW.

62 Hardy Rd., S.W.19.

## Communists and pacifists

FRANCOISE DELISLE'S letter illustrates the danger of arguing from analogies.

If, however, she insists upon equating the personal vice of drunkenness with the collective wickedness of war, I can only say that I will co-operate with any persons who are trying to promote temperance whether they are teetotallers or not, and with any persons who are working for peace whether they have taken the peace pledge or not.

Both temperance people and pacifists alienate sympathy and do great harm to their cause when they adopt the attitude: "Stand by thyself, for I am holier than thou."

There is some authority for believing that they are also obnoxious to God.

(Rev.) KENNETH RAWLINGS.

St. Michael's Rectory,  
Lewes, Sussex.

## Women and war

IN a recent issue of the New York Times there appeared what was surely one of the most tragic and depressing pictures of this century—a line of poker-faced, Israeli Army women in hideous boots, shouldering rifles with fixed bayonets, being inspected by Premier U Nu of Burma whose face wore a wide grin, probably in the vain attempt to win some answering smile from those determined, self-appointed potential murderers.

THE BBC in one of their News Bulletins some weeks ago, announced that Mr. Stassen, the American Minister for Peace, had invited people in any part of the world to send him their views on how world peace could best be established.

Peace News reader, Albert Kneller, of Alpertown, Middlesex, wrote:

"The Arms Race is leading the world to destruction. Armaments do not afford security. On the contrary, as Ramsey MacDonald once said, 'Amassing weapons for defence is like sheltering under a tree in a thunderstorm. You are in the most likely place to be struck.'"

"Since the nations cannot agree on disarmament, some country must take the initiative and give a moral lead to the world. I hope it will be Britain. There are risks involved, but not so great as the destruction of civilisation in an H-bomb war. And there is real hope that such a gesture would command the respect of the whole world, as its sincerity would be beyond question. The news of it would inevitably pierce any Iron Curtain, and no weapons 'for defence only' could be justified against an unarmed nation. We must certainly oppose Communism, but by non-violent use of moral and spiritual

The tragedy lies in this blatant parade of the hideous fact that the mother-half of the race has now betrayed its functions and completely surrendered to masculinity. Where, now, are we to look for the tenderness, love, gentleness, beauty, protectiveness, mercy, once supposed to be the qualities of womanhood? Ever since their so-called emancipation women have been busily engaged in degrading themselves by adopting men's unintelligent vices: smoking, drinking, sexual promiscuity, and now they are going in for homicide!

This is largely the result of having won the vote by the wrong means—militancy. Having placed their trust in violence they have inevitably had to admit it into their policies. It is also the result of a Church's perpetuation of false values by canonizing Joan of Arc. That misguided woman who imagined that a God of Love could command her to lead an army of young men out to slaughter another army of young men has a vast appeal to the baser instincts of humanity, and a monotonous series of plays have appeared with this female-homicide as heroine.

Unless people, and especially women, begin to use their intelligence, revise their values and gain greater respect for true feminine characteristics, mankind will undoubtedly perish in its violence for sheer lack of a restraining majority opinion.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach,  
Selsey, Sussex.

## Cause of war

WILFRED WELLOCK stated (PN May 27) that wars arise "from a way of life in which monetary values have superseded spiritual values." I should like to ask why within the vast USA there have been no wars for generations although the "almighty dollar" has notoriously been the dominating force in what is called the "American way of life" for a century.

Nationalism—which has produced many wars in the 19th and present centuries—is claimed by its advocates as a "spiritual value," and although that claim is false (psychological values not being identical with spiritual) at any rate it can hardly be measured in terms of cash, and nationalist wars have occurred in regions where "spiritual values" have been rather less obscured than in the USA.

JOHN NIBB.

## He wrote to the "Minister of Peace"

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weapons. An ideology cannot be destroyed by high explosives.

"I therefore advocate total unilateral disarmament and my chief reason is that I am convinced it is the only method compatible with the teachings and life of Jesus Christ."

Albert Kneller received a personal reply from Mr. Stassen, in which he said that the thoughtful ideas expressed by Mr. Kneller would be analysed.

"President Eisenhower is so deeply devoted to the objective of peace," he continued "that I have faith a solution can be found, even though I realise the extreme difficulty of the problem."

Part of a letter written by Albert Kneller was also broadcast on a BBC's "Any Questions" programme, during June. It stated that there was no such thing as Civil Defence, and that working to reduce a terrific casualty list by one or two per cent was only scratching the surface of the problem. Efforts should be concentrated on the prevention of war, which could be achieved by organising and expressing public opposition to the manufacture of H-bombs and, indeed, any other weapons of destruction.

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Saturday, July 23

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Church Hall, Ashley Rd. (nr. traffic lights). Hugh Brock speaks on ways of advocating the pacifist policy. SoF, PPU, FoR, APF, IFL.

LONDON, W.11: 3 p.m.; IVSP Centre, 19 Pembroke Villas, Grand Garden Party in aid of SCI, Italy. Speaker at opening, Ormerod Greenwood. IVSP.

Sunday, July 24

LONDON: 3.15 p.m.; Clapham Common, speakers pitch. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 11.15 a.m.; Five Ways Cafe. Area Mtg. PPU.

Thursday, July 28

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Group Discussion. PPU.

Saturday, August 6

LONDON: "Remember Hiroshima" Poster Parade. 5.45 p.m. Assemble Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. March to Hyde Park for Open-air Mtg. 7 p.m. PYAG Speakers. PPU.

Sunday, September 4

LONDON, N.W.11: King Alfred School North End Rd. Garden Party. Children and adult sports, sideshows, and country dancing. PPU.

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# These "Peace Offensives"

PERHAPS Pandit Nehru is right in saying, as he did recently, that there are signs that world tension is easing and that nations are beginning to realize the imperative necessity for thinking in terms other than war for the settlement of disputes. Perhaps. It is good-thinking anyhow, just as the inevitability-of-war is bad-thinking—of which bad-thinking world tension is made.

As between the Communist and the Democratic blocs tension may be ever so slightly easing, but meanwhile the British cannot think of any other way of collecting fines from the Arab tribesmen of the Aden Protectorate than by bombing their villages—"humanely," of course, as was said in the official report of the hanging of the wretched girl, Ruth Ellis. Humanely, after due notice has been given; the way the huts are burned in Malayan villages when the people are suspected of assisting the "terrorists" or refuse to give information about them. Sometimes they are even required to set fire to the huts themselves; what could be more "humanely" considerate than that?

## WAR TO THE DEATH

World tension may be easing, as Nehru believes, but not on the home front, clearly. There, it seems, we are determined to wage war to the death, to the complete surrender or total extermination of the enemy—the jungle enemy of Malaya and Kenya.

The recent peace offer made by the Malayan guerrillas was announced in the press at the same time as its contemptuous dismissal as a "Communist Peace Offensive."

The term is not new; whenever the Germans during the last war showed any sign of making a peace offer it was similarly dismissed as a "peace offensive," you may remember. And whenever the Russians show signs of reasonableness—which at the grave risk of being labelled Communist or fellow-traveller myself I would aver they quite often do, both over Germany and the latest atomic weapon—suspicion is immediately aroused and up goes the cry once more from the democratic ranks of "Communist peace offensive." How dare they try to make peace with us? we demand, in effect. The wicked things, they actually have the audacity to try to come to terms with us!

The Malayan peace offer was everywhere reported, and everywhere in the same terms of profound mistrust, as something which could not possibly be considered, and nowhere was it reported in full. True the full text is lengthy, but then it has been, and continues to be, a lengthy war.

## NG HENG'S OFFER

This offer, which was signed by Ng Heng, the Representative of the Supreme Command Headquarters of the Malayan Races Liberation Army—to give the guerrillas their full title—suggested sending a representative to Kuala Lumpur to make arrangements for a round-table conference provided that the British Government would guarantee a safe conduct.

Ng Heng asked to be informed through the radio or the press, and was prepared to start on his journey to Kuala Lumpur immediately, he declared, adding:

"On our side the door to negotiation, in the past, present or future, is always open. We are now making one big step forward. For this reason whether negotiations materialise or not solely depends on the attitude of the British Government." Who, as we know, turned the offer down flat, without even considering it. Make peace with bandits-terrorists-Communists? Never! And so the war goes on, with its tragic waste of human life, its waste of money—which is considerable—and its waste of time. Eventually there will have to be negotiation round a table—the past seven years should surely have demonstrated that the issue can never be settled by fighting it out in the jungles. To date the war has cost the British tax-payers over £400 million, apart from the loss of life and the loss of trade and the waste of the productive capacity of some 30,000 men for over seven years.

## OUTWORN COLONIAL RULE

The British offer an amnesty—which obviously must be preceded by surrender. It should be abundantly clear by now that there will be no surrender: that the war can continue indefinitely and will do so, because for the Malaysians it is a war to the death, too, the death of the old outworn colonial rule. Labour, being very pious just now in its indignation over the bombing of the Aden tribesmen, had its chance when in office to end colonial rule in Malaya as it has ended elsewhere in the East. Labour is quite as capable as the Tories of thinking in terms of "peace offensives" when it suits the colonial—the imperialist—book. The Malaysians might well call the British amnesty offer a peace offensive, and similarly the Mau Mau might well regard with suspicion the surrender terms in Kenya, which only guarantee that they won't be hanged, but not that they won't be detained—as hundreds of thousands already are—in camps which when the enemy organize them we are quick to call concentration camps.

When is a peace offer not a peace offer? When it is a "peace offensive." That is to say when it is made by the enemy in terms

other than surrender; in terms, that is to say, which must in the course of negotiation inevitably demand some concessions. Eventually we are going to make concessions in Malaya; eventually we are going to get out of Malaya, as we got out of India and Burma and Ceylon, and either we do it now, with dignity, with goodwill, and a resultant recovery of prestige—as in India—or, as Mr. Awebry, MP, has put it, with an eventual "humiliating scuttle."

The Malayan peace offer must be of deep interest and concern for pacifists—as must the ending of war anywhere, in any circumstances—and they should acquaint themselves with the facts.

What political label is to be attached to the Malayan guerrillas is not their concern; their concern is that an offer to negotiate has been made and has been rejected out of hand by the British government when in the interests of every one, in England and Malaya equally, it should have been accepted.

Let not pacifists be led astray by talk of "bandits" and "terrorists"; bandits do not maintain a war for years, nor do they offer to meet the enemy round a table. As to "terrorism" it is a word to put side by side with "peace offensive"—a catchword to obscure the real issue.

## FREEDOM SOON

Stan Awebry summed the situation up in a speech in a debate on the Malayan situation in the House of Commons in July 1954; he said that "sooner or later these people will achieve their freedom. Sometimes we call it Communism, because we do not like it, but we cannot excuse ourselves by calling their demand for self-government by the name of Communism. We cannot ease our conscience by making statements like that."

The one and only object of the Malayan guerrillas, as set forth in their despised peace offer, is "a peaceful and democratic and independent Malaya." That is something for pacifists to insist upon to their MPs, and to make known in their local Labour parties and co-op guilds and trade unions, and in discussion groups, in short wherever they find themselves able to make known this tragically little publicised fact.

# We Africans have the right to rule our country —JOSEPH MURUMBI

This Congress deeply conscious of the injustices which have been committed in Kenya, and in solidarity with its African population, urges that the Government should immediately offer to negotiate an end to the fighting in Kenya with representatives of Mau Mau, and follow this with a conference—based on the principle that the indigenous Africans are paramount—to prepare plans for the economic, social and political liberation of the people.

# THIS resolution was passed at a meeting in London (reported briefly in Peace News last week) organised by the London Area Council of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and attended by more than 100 delegates.

Joseph Murumbi, former General Secretary of the Kenya African Union, and now Assistant Secretary of the MCF spoke of the 861 judicial hangings which had taken place in Kenya since the beginning of the Emergency, 595 of them for offences other than murder; of the 600,000 people, more than half the Kikuyu tribe, who had been forcibly removed from their homes, and of the 160 independent schools which had been closed down.

He mentioned too that the Government's present plans for Kenya included spending twice as much money on police, military and prison buildings as on developing agriculture.

People in Kenya were not allowed freedom to read what they wished, and he quoted from Hansard a list of books and papers banned in Kenya which ranged from "Modern Beauty" to the "Doctrine of Passive Resistance" and "Africa—Britain's Third Empire." "I cannot," he said "understand the meaning of democracy in a country where there are these restrictions."

## AGAINST VIOLENCE

The solution in Kenya lay in the development of a sense of political security among the Africans, by their being allowed to take part in the Government of Kenya as the majority community.

"Kenya is an African country, and we as Africans have the right to rule our country," he said.

The MCF did not, he said, accept the need for violence. If the people of Kenya tried to win their freedom by violence, then they would end by establishing a Police State.

Fenner Brockway, MP, Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, wound up the conference.

He told the delegates that the rights of Africans must be declared paramount, and that a conference must be held at which a programme for Education, Land Reform, a Health Service, and above all universal African suffrage, must be worked out. Britain would never win the friendship of the people of Kenya until she recognised the right of Africans to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council.

"From Kampala in Uganda, to Nairobi in Kenya, down to the South African Union, we may be heading for a race war. Somehow we have to change the whole psychology of distrust and suspicion and antagonism in East and Central Africa to one of confidence, co-operation and joint action."

# "... WHO HELP THEMSELVES"

Prayers will be said in churches of all denominations throughout Britain today for the heads of the governments... who will open their talks in Geneva tomorrow. —Sunday Times, July 17, 1955.

Millions of Americans responded today to Mr. Eisenhower's parting appeal for a demonstration by prayer of the depth of their aspirations for peace. —Daily Telegraph, July 18, 1955.

THERE is a trite little saying belonging to my childhood which quite frequently comes to my mind, and particularly so this week. It was usually addressed to us in Sunday School, or, sometimes by parents and teachers. "The Lord," they would sententiously remark, "helps those who help themselves."

It is good that the thoughts and prayers of people all over the world should accompany the statesmen who represent the Powers at present engaged in a "cold war," as they meet together for talks at Geneva.

It would be more hopeful, however, if there was any sign or sound of repentance for the decisions taken just ten years ago when the last "top-level" conference took place at Pots-

## LAURENCE HOUSMAN

### FROM PAGE ONE

had been no literary period of a richness equal to the 20 years from 1865 to 1885 when Laurence was growing up.

It was during the era of Hardy and Swinburne that he published his first work, nearly three generations ago; he was the most inspiring link with the last century which remained to us.

Mr. Hudson added that THE LITTLE PLAYS OF ST. FRANCIS have passed into something more than the English tradition; we are almost persuaded through Laurence Housman's often-criticised "subversive influence" that St. Francis of Assisi was an Englishman.

A performance of the short play, STARS AND STRIKES, by the Street Players, followed.

This little comedy wittily describes the predicament of a film producer so much harassed by his two star performers that he dismisses the male star and gives his part to a stage hand.

The evening ended with another volley of claps and cheers for Laurence.

On the way back to Bristol our party parked to consume an informal supper beneath the street lamp (which alone gave sufficient light) in the main square at Wells. A member of the local police-force approached us with suspicion and retired in mirth; a cleric from the nearby precincts of the dark cathedral prowled round us disapprovingly; two mutually interested cats found our car a suitable spot for a rendezvous, and a couple of motor buses nearly ran us down. We might well have been the *dramatis personae* from another of the great old writer's IRONICAL TALES.

## PARLIAMENT

### FROM PAGE ONE

part in the discussion. And that, he thought, was going very far in this matter.

But Mr. Henderson was not to be put off. Did the Government, he asked, support the proposal for this international enquiry under the auspices of the United Nations? That, he insisted, was a simple question.

But it did not receive a simple answer. Mr. Turton dodged it by repeating that there had not been any formal proposal.

Mr. Henderson, in an aggrieved tone, intimated that, in view of the unsatisfactory attitude of the Government upon this very important matter, he would raise the question again.

## LABOUR'S NEW C.D. POLICY

### FROM PAGE ONE

force, without waiting for warning of any impending bombing attack."

When, then? Tonight? It could happen tonight. Next week? Next Whitsuntide? The dispersal presumably should be carried out if war looks like breaking out. Say April 1954 at Dienbienphu, Christmas 1954 in Germany, April 1955 at Formosa. We should have seen a fair bit of the countryside by now.

### Social collapse

The report falls down hopelessly where all these grandiose plans for dealing with the H-bomb "on a scale commensurate with the problem" (as someone has said) fall down.

It ignores the fact that the really annihilating effect of thermo-nuclear bombing would be due to the collapse of the social organism.

The Labour pamphlet talks about camps (for "dispersees" as I suppose we should call them). It talks about stockpiles of food (it even says that "after stocks have been used the country would have to rely on emergency supplies made available to it by other member States of the Western Alliance," who would happily, no doubt, be enjoying a bomb-free time and aching to run the radio-active gauntlet of our wharfless ports). It talks about improving road and rail systems; it mentions sewage and rural water to reinforce the impression of being at grips with realities (the drains have always been a criterion).

What the pamphlet does not say is: How the problem of keeping body and soul together is to be met. Who is to pay the dispersees. Where they will work. What is to prevent the water supplies, rivers, canals, springs and reservoirs from becoming radio-active. How the food-stocks are to be guaranteed against contamination. Who is to maintain all the usual services, medical, legal, educational, recreational. How is a country

dam. For, undoubtedly those decisions have directly resulted in the present day tension.

Had there, on that occasion, been the smallest willingness to discuss negotiating a truce with Japan, for which purpose an approach had been made by the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow to Stalin, rather than the fatal and dreadful agreement between Truman and Churchill to experiment with the atom bomb, the whole situation today would be different.

The fateful decision to drop the atom bomb on two Japanese cities led straight to the hydrogen bomb and other nuclear weapons to the guided rockets and monstrous missiles of the future winging their ghastly way through space to the ultimate destruction of all mankind.

The tragedy is that no one expresses even a tardy regret for that decision, let alone any repentance for a dreadful crime against the Japanese, and indeed against the whole of humanity.

### ★

Of course there have been other appalling crimes committed by the totalitarian regimes, but these too result in some measure from revengeful policies and decisions taken in an atmosphere of ruthless vindictiveness belonging to the aftermath of war.

It became fashionable at one time to decry Hitler's objections to the Versailles Treaty war guilt clause, impossible reparations and annexed colonies, as a mere excuse for German making war yet again. That these injustices were used to incite the German people to war is true, but that does not cancel out the fact of the injustices.

Had we then expressed regret, which is not synonymous with cringing appeasement, for the wrongs done to Germany and the German people; had we admitted that some of the guilt for the 1914-18 war lay upon the shoulders of our own imperialist policies and not entirely upon the Prussian militarism of the day; the decisions taken might have been in aid of peace, instead of an obvious incitement to a future war.

That we should pray is one thing, but that we should expect God to do what we want and do nothing at all ourselves to show contrition for the deeds and the words that have brought the human race into such an impasse is another thing.

### ★

It is surely not to be understood that God should take sides, and settle for those who make enough prayers; what is needed is a recognition of the truth of that strange little adage that the Lord will help those who help themselves; that in fact requests without repentance, and prayer without deeds will not do.

It is better to talk and keep on talking, and to pray and keep on praying than to involve the world in a nuclear weapon war, but talks and prayers must both fail without the will to find a way. The way of renunciation is a hard way for sovereign nations which have always relied on the method of war; moreover agreements to renounce war have been made before when thirty-six nations signed the Kellogg Pact, yet war was not renounced.

Renunciation of war means discarding its weapons; that is the deed which should be the preamble to the prayers, and if that were done there can be no doubt we should have helped ourselves along the true way to a peaceful world.

with its main centres destroyed to continue any administration or government.

Imagine the railways with Euston and Clapham in ruins, or communications with Mount Pleasant up the spout.

Will we have fish canneries in the Cotswolds and abattoirs in the Highlands? Will Somerset potatoes be ferried round to Newcastle and coal for Salisbury's dispersees' camp be airlifted from Lancashire, the whole passing through a Geiger Curtain somewhere outside Melton Mowbray?

With hard-faced realism the Labour planners recognise that central control would break down in such an emergency. They therefore advocate a system of Regional Commissioners with "emergency powers." These would hand it over the camps where all "non-essential" personnel would be by that time be living. The combination of camps and Commissioners with "emergency powers" is unpleasantly reminiscent of something. If this is all we are to get out of our gallant defence of the democratic way of life, it does seem a bit thick.

It is true that they say the hydrogen bomb makes ever more necessary the need for the creation of peace in the world. But who doesn't?

The whole report is unmitigated nonsense. Nobody associated with it—and certainly not R. H. S. Crossman—can seriously mean a word of it. Except perhaps the point which its authors all too obviously reveal—"whilst a re-armament race is proceeding the deterrent effect of the hydrogen bomb is strengthened by a defence system."

The Party of social justice, freedom and peace has come to this.

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**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**  
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send YOUR pledge to  
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Dick Sheppard House, Endelburgh Street, W.C.1

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